India

FOR THE

No. 170. New Series.] No. 264. Old Series.]

WEEK ENDING FRIDAY, APRIL 5, 1901.

[Registered as a Newspaper. { Price...... 2d By Post. 2½d

Notes and News 157
"The Indian Borderland" 160
Our London Letter 161
Notes from Bombay 162
The Indian Budget: Further Opinions of the British Press ... 162
Mr. G. P. Pillai on Indian Questions 165
Mr. J. M. Parikh on Indian Questions 165
Indian Affairs in Parliament 166
Lord Curzon in India 167
The *Investors' Review* 167
Advertisements 168

NOTES AND NEWS.

Now that the Famine Commission is considering its report, it may be well to recall a passage in the Resolution constituting the Commission, to which we referred at the time (January 18, p. 30):—

> As regards the larger question of the incidence and pressure of the land assessment in the different provinces, and its effects on the well-being and resources of the agricultural population, the Governor-General in Council does not underrate the importance of this subject, upon which he has already addressed the various Local Governments and administrations. A study of their replies will enable him to decide whether further investigation is necessary. It would be manifestly undesirable to postpone the labours of the present Commission until an answer can be given to this question.

The terms of this passage seemed to indicate that a further Commission might be appointed. We should like to know if this is the intention of the Government, and, if so, whether the new Commission will be empowered to investigate the economic causes of famine as a whole. It is precisely an enquiry of this kind that is needed in India, and, if a few typical villages were selected for investigation, the enquiry could be conducted upon quite a manageable scale.

The result of the Bombay census, which shows not only a cessation of the growth of population but even a decline, lends special interest to the details regarding each district and State which have now come to hand. At the first announcement of the figures for the districts under our rule and for the Native States the greater decline in the latter was eagerly seized on as showing inferiority in the administration of famine relief. If the decline in each case was due to deaths from famine alone, and if famine had equally afflicted all parts of the Province, the proof would no doubt be complete. But the matter is not so simple as this. The Native States in the Bombay Presidency are, for the most part, small. Therefore, if famine strikes the State at all, it strikes the whole of it. So, if the people of such a State fly from famine, they can only do so by leaving the State and going beyond its borders.

Now let us look at the figures. It is certainly true that no district under our direct rule shows so badly as Mahi Kantha with a decrease of 37 per cent. and Rewa Kantha with a decrease of 34 per cent. It may be that here the system of relief was very faulty. But this does not exhaust the tale of Native States. In Kathiawar, for instance, the decrease was 15·43 per cent.; and in Kaira on its North-Eastern border the decrease was 17·88 per cent. Again, the decrease in the Native State of Mahi Kanthi was 37·84 per cent., in Ahmedabad, to the South, it was 18·73; to the South of that, in Kaira, it was 17·88, and still further to the South, in Broach, it was 14·5. But between Kaira and Broach lies the Native State of Cambay, where the decrease was 16·27. Therefore, we find that these States and districts form a series, the decrease diminishing as we go South. If the greater decrease in Cambay proves that the relief was worse administered there than in Broach, must it not have been worse administered still in Kaira? But the whole reasoning is based on a fallacy. To take one more illustration, the Native State of Jawhar is surrounded by the district of Thana; the decrease in Jawhar was 10·65 per cent., while that of Thana was 10·55, or almost the same. We have taken the figures as given in the *Times of India*.

The last mail has brought us further particulars of the supension of Mr. Pennell. The following is the course of events as given in the *Friend of India*. As his Court would be closed on March 1, 2, and 3 (Census days and Sunday) and also on March 5 (the Dole Jastra festival), Mr. Pennell applied for five days' leave, or failing that for three days. After several days' delay, and at the last moment, he received two telegrams informing him that the five days' leave could not be granted, but saying nothing about the three days. Mr. Pennell then sent a registered letter stating that, in expectation of the grant of three days' leave, he was starting for Calcutta and bringing with him the record of the Noakhali murder case which, as it contained some important documents, he was anxious to deliver personally to the High Court. On March 3, Mr. Chapman called on Mr. Pennell for the record, apparently by order of the Chief Justice, but Mr. Pennell refused to give it up to him as he was no longer an officer of the High Court.

Up to this point there seems a general agreement as to what took place; but it is not quite certain whether the suggestion that Mr. Pennell should deliver the records personally to the Chief Justice originated with Mr. Pennell or Mr. Chapman. However that may be, Mr. Pennell called on the Chief Justice with the records, but the latter refused to see him or take them. In the evening of the same day (March 3) Mr. Pennell received an order from the Government to return to Noakhali, but he contends that if he had obeyed that order he could not have made over the record to the High Court. On the 4th Mr. Pennell was handed a letter containing a notice of his suspension and ordering him to return immediately to Noakhali. This he refused to do, on the ground that being suspended he would have no position or authority there, and that in Calcutta he could obtain advice, and file affidavits necessary for his defence. He eventually handed the records to Mr. Sheepshanks, Registrar of the High Court, before the end of the time originally fixed for their delivery.

When Mr. Pennell went to deliver the records to the Registrar the news that he was in Court quickly spread. The *Friend of India* says that "a large crowd assembled in the corridors and respectfully salaamed him as he passed by, a large percentage of the gathering following him downstairs and into the street." Nor have the Indian papers been slow to seize upon the difference in the treatment of Mr. Pennell and Mr. Reilly. Both have been suspended, but while Mr. Reilly, who is awaiting his trial on serious criminal charges, is allowed to remain in Calcutta, Mr. Pennell, on his suspension, has been ordered back to Noakhali.

Sir Lepel Griffin puts his knife into Lord Curzon with right good will in the current number of the *Empire Review*. The "new frontier province" he calls "a somewhat grandiloquent description of what is, in reality, a mere border strip of plain country between the hills and the river Indus," the whole being "not equal in size, wealth, or population, to an ordinary Punjab Commissionership." Sir Lepel, unlike Lord George Hamilton, does not go back to the Durand boundary, except in the "sphere-of-influence" sense; in his view, the "wilderness of bare rugged and almost inaccessible mountains" is only "associated with" the British districts included, and "this wild region is neither by conquest nor by political or geographical considerations British territory." And he rubs this in:—

> At the close of the late war peace was made on conditions which

so far as the payment of fine and surrender of rifles are concerned, we have found it convenient, in great measure, to waive; but no condition or understanding, expressed or implied, has deprived the Afghan mountaineers of their birthright of freedom, or forbidden them to resent and resist interference with the management of their affairs so long as they abstain from hostile action against their neighbours in British territory.

We trust that Sir Lepel's emphatic statement will have some effect in neutralising the Secretary of State's loose and provocative affirmation that the Durand boundary is the British border limit.

Sir Lepel's criticisms are the more severe inasmuch as he agrees with the conclusions of the Viceroy. In spite of this agreement, he says:—

I deny the validity of the arguments with which he supports them, and distrust the spirit which animates them. The epitaph of Goldsmith on William Burke might be applied without injustice to Lord Curzon:

"The pupil of impulse, it forced him along,
His conduct still right, with his argument wrong."

Lord Curzon's proposals "are but a slight modification of those which Lord Lytton was ready to accept when his more ambitious scheme of frontier management was negatived," and might fittingly have been embodied in "a brief despatch stating the grounds on which the new departure had become necessary." But—

But in the place of this prudent procedure Lord Curzon has chosen to write a phenomenally lengthy and polemical despatch, explaining his proposals, attacking the Punjab Government, past and present, for ignorance, incapacity, and obstruction, and treating the statesmanlike objections of the Secretary of State to the separation scheme with a contempt which the exigencies of official etiquette only thinly disguise.

Lord George Hamilton's objections, "which are of grave and lasting importance," says Sir Lepel, "have in no way been affected by the inconclusive and superficial arguments with which Lord Curzon has so unhappily assailed them." Well, but suppose an Indian had said this: would he not have been laid by the heels under some clause of the Sedition Laws? However, Sir Lepel has a double grievance: Lord Curzon's gross misrepresentation of Sir Lepel's own Frontier experience, and his ungenerous attack on Sir Lepel's old Local Government, "which has had as splendid a record both in men and work as any in India." On every point Sir Lepel is fully justified in his caustic castigation of the Viceroy's indiscretions; and particularly caustic are his indications that Lord Curzon has dug up obsolete arguments from the "inexhaustible quarry" of Lord Lytton's "voluminous despatches."

But what interests us much more deeply than personal recriminations, however just, is Sir Lepel's distrust of the spirit that animates Lord Curzon's conclusions. Tracing the history of the border raids and punitive expeditions, Sir Lepel says:—

The border settled down into a normal condition of tranquillity and prosperity, until one conflagration after another was lighted by the injudicious and provocative measures of the supreme Government, instigated by ambitious soldiers and too zealous political officers, in opposition to the sober and well-considered advice of the Local Government.

And again:—

The Military Department . . . . has never had much sense of proportion in such matters (punitive expeditions), and is accustomed to use a Nasmyth hammer to crush eggshells, with disastrous effect on the equilibrium of the Budget.

Sir Lepel forgets those interesting "mad fakirs" and "mad mullahs," of whom we have heard so much! He recalls the restrictive policy laid down by Lord Salisbury in 1898, and utters this warning:—

The Viceroy's memorandum does not seem to be inspired by the same temperate spirit as the declarations of Lord Salisbury, and the country would undoubtedly resent the elevation of the Forward Policy, *from which England and India have suffered so much l.ss and mortification*, into a dogma of canonical authority.

The italics are ours. "It would be a very good thing," adds Sir Lepel, "if the Viceroy could forget there was a frontier at all."

But how can he forget, when all these mad fakirs and mullahs are about, and when those frightful raids will persist in taking place? Sir Lepel tells us very plainly, and most wisely. He says:—

The Viceroy's real duties are very different (from "petty frontier politics"): to develop peacefully the resources of the Empire; to encourage agriculture and commerce and beat back poverty, pestilence and famine. It would be well to choose a Chief Commissioner of the Frontier in whom full reliance could be placed, and order him to cut the telegraph wires and send no report whatever to the Foreign Department. Then would this Frontier fever be assuaged; raids and intertribal disputes would be recognised as the trifles they really are; mole hills would no longer be magnified into mountains, nor would every windmill be imagined an armed enemy. Now, all sense of proportion is lost; and the unfortunate Punjab Government, which out of official politeness has unsuccessfully pretended to believe in the imaginary spectres which terrify the Viceroy, is driven, like the scapegoat, into the wilderness, bearing not only its own alleged iniquities but also the sins and follies of the supreme Government, against which it had persistently protested and for which it was in no way responsible.

"Cut the telegraph wires"! Send "no report whatever"! Raids but "trifles"! The "imaginary spectres which terrify the Viceroy"! "The sins and follies of the Supreme Government"! Not a word of mad fakirs and mullahs! Is Saul also among the prophets?

The *Englishman* draws attention to the way in which the military authorities sacrifice life and prestige to smartness. Sentries are required to march up and down a given beat in a soldierlike manner, instead of watching from some secure hiding-place. The result is that in Peshawur sentries often lose their lives. In fact it is asserted that scarcely a week passes without such an occurrence. This is surely a matter which in the interest of the soldiers and the State should be reformed.

On March 8 the Assam Labour Bill was passed by the Viceroy's Legislative Council. It will be remembered that the Select Committee changed the original proposal of an enhancement of coolies' wages all round to an increase only in the second and third years. Mr. Buckingham, acting in the interests of the planters, proposed that there should be no advance in wages. This was eloquently opposed by Mr. Cotton, and defeated by thirteen votes to five. Then Mr. Buckingham proposed another amendment, based on a suggestion of the Viceroy, that the increment should only begin two years hence, because of the depressed state of the tea industry at present. This was carried, though Mr. Cotton vigorously opposed it. The way in which the Chief Commissioner of Assam has championed the cause of the poor coolies has evoked widespread admiration among the Indians.

The irrepressible Metropolitan of India, not contented with the scandal created by some of his recent utterances in that country, has made a characteristic contribution to the first number of the *Empire Review*. In Europe this article attracted little attention, but it has in India received a severe criticism from the *Madras Mail*. The connexion between the Church and the British Empire, the Church's world-wide Imperial mission, are naturally the subjects of Bishop Welldon's pen. He finds the Catholic Church not sufficiently English for his purpose, and he insists on considering the Church of England as the Church of the English-speaking race, regardless of the United States of America. One judgment stands pre-eminent for its folly. He declares that "the Great Mutiny would have been less likely to occur if the Government of India in 1857 had been trusted by the Natives as being not in fact only but in name a Christian Government."

It has long been the custom of the *Pioneer* to extol the loyalty of the Moslems in comparison with the Hindus; but it occasionally forgets this traditional posture. The *Tribune* has discovered such a lapse in some remarks which its contemporary makes concerning the New Frontier Province in which it expresses the view that had Abdur Rahman supported the frontier tribes "excitement and unrest would have spread among the Mahometan population of the Punjab." The *Tribune* thinks that the Punjab Moslems will "be very grateful to the *Pioneer* for the faith it has expressed in their unswerving loyalty to the British *raj*."

The *Pioneer* seizes upon some remarks of the Gaekwar in the *Nineteenth Century* in order to shift on to the Indians the odium of keeping the two races apart. Indians, it

appears, will not dine with Englishmen, and, therefore, all real intimacy is impossible. But the *Tribune* has two answers at hand: (1) difference of caste does not prevent Hindus forming lifelong friendship, even though caste rules do not allow of their dining together; and (2) these rules do not apply to Mahometans or Parsees, and there are not wanting emancipated Hindus who are quite willing to dine with Europeans. Yet not only does the average Anglo-Indian show no desire to meet Parsees and Mahometans at dinner, but those Hindus with whom he could dine seem the special objects of his aversion. The causes of separation are much deeper and more difficult to surmount.

Sir John Jardine contributes to the April number of the *Asiatic Quarterly* an extremely interesting paper on "Scotsmen in India," which he had already read before the London Scottish Border Counties Association. He notes that on the Union of the Crowns, when Scotsmen began to press into the public services,

> Scottish lords and members of Parliament living in London now got their due influence over patronage, and no doubt the high average of education in Scotland . . . . made the younger sons of the discontented lairds and ministers desirable servants in the Indian factories.

Education and moral grit, especially. A notable example was Jonathan Duncan (1756-1811), son of a Forfarshire tenant farmer, who was Governor of Bombay for sixteen years, and is splendidly commemorated in the Bombay Cathedral. Sir John says:—

> His gentleness, his tendency to philosophic speculation, would endear him to the people; and his policy of upholding Native institutions is one that has usually been followed by the greater Scotsmen in India, with the exception of Lord Dalhousie. Instead of reducing the Chiefs of clans into the position of subjects, he left them a large measure of sovereign independence, which in Kattywar and Gujerat some hundreds of them still retain, this arrangement, which has worked well—especially in the hands of Scotsmen—being the very opposite of the settlement made with the Highland chieftains after the rebellion.

Sir John can speak of Kattywar and Gujerat from personal experience. It may be added that if Lord Dalhousie had been a tenant farmer's son he might have had popular sympathies that would have preserved him from being an exception to an admirable principle.

Governor Duncan, as suppressor of infanticide in Kattywar and Gujerat, proceeded by showing the people from their holy books that the killing of babies was contrary to the Hindu religion. This is a remarkable anticipation of the method of the late Mr. Justice Ranade. Sir John Jardine further illustrates the sympathy of Scotsmen with the people by a citation from Mountstuart Elphinstone's remarks on Sir John Malcolm's manner of dealing with the Natives:—

> It appears to particular advantage in his feelings towards the Native Army, and in the doctrines he has inculcated regarding them. It is melancholy to think that he is not young, and that he is the last of the class of politicians to whom he belongs. The later statesmen are certainly more imperious and harsher in their notions, and are inferior in wisdom, inasmuch as they reckon more on force than he does, and less on affection.

This was in 1819. How far have the later generations improved in "wisdom" as understood by Elphinstone? Munro was another great example:—

> Where but in Scotland do you find boys like Sir Thomas Munro (1761-1827), the Madras cadet who became Governor of that Presidency? . . . . I have served in districts he ruled where his great and good memory is fondly cherished. The highest compliment a Native can pay a civilian is to compare him to Munro. In a recent memoir it is reported that they name their boys after him Munrolappa, and that wandering minstrels sing ballads in his praise—as I have heard them in Bombay singing the fame of Colonel Lang, Political Agent, fondly remembered at Kattywar. He was also a Scotsman.

Sir John's illustrations could be largely increased, of course, but such as he selects efficiently mark the characteristics of Scotsmen. He himself is endowed with his full share of the *perfervidum ingenium* attributed to his countrymen.

Last year we had great pleasure in noting the excellent work done by the newly-established Akalkote Agricultural Syndicate, and now we welcome the second annual report, which shows that the work is going on very satisfactorily. The prevalence of famine has interposed unusual difficulties, in some respects thwarting the efforts of the Syndicate. But there have been compensations; the work has attracted a great deal of opportune support from private sympathisers, which has enabled the Syndicate to furnish a fair quantity of seeds for sowing, to supply food grains to many in severe distress, as well as fodder "to a few surviving plough cattle," to make "advances amounting in all to about Rs.1,300 to some of the indigent peasantry in debt to the State and the money-lender," and to distribute some clothing and medicine.

> Apart from these, a most gratifying fact, which deserves special mention, is the refund of nearly Rs. 2,000, even during the distressful period, which had been advanced to help some of the peasantry during the previous year. It is proof conclusive of the upright character of the rayat, and shows what could be achieved to ameliorate his condition by means of rural banks on a sound basis, with a defined object in harmony with rural economy and rural idiosyncracies.

It is gratifying to observe that the Bombay Director-General of Agriculture interested himself in the work of the Syndicate and "was so good as to review the first report and make some useful suggestions, which have had its best attention." The Akalkote State, too, "from the commencement has been most liberal in aid and in its kind encouragement." We hope the Syndicate will take heart, then, to go on steadily with its eminently practical and business-like scheme.

We take a few points of detail from the report. The plough cattle are in great deficiency, in view of the ordinary cultivable acreage, and still more in view of the addition of some 1900 acres of deforested land to the area occupied by the five villages in which the operations of the Syndicate have been carried on. The famine mortality of cattle is estimated at 20 per cent. at least; and the deficiency of rainfall involves a serious want of fodder. The price of jowari, the staple food of the rayats, was very high, and the Syndicate "found that, unless there were large funds, the attempt to sell grain a little cheaper than the bania was not practical." Still the gifts of friends allowed them to do a little. The return of agricultural prosperity will be eagerly utilised in favour of "the old practice of storing up some grain." The timely donations of friends also enabled the Syndicate to spend some Rs.422 on seeds for the kharif and rabi crops. Loans were given, to the extent of Rs.1,275, "to the poorest cultivators, who stood in dire need of some help to get on." Hence the recipients "have been able to till their lands for cultivation instead of allowing them to pass into the hands of the money-lender or the State for default of debt or Government dues." The report says:—

> The more the Syndicate gets experience of this class of indebted cultivators, the pressing necessity of some rural banks becomes more evident. If well managed, these institutions are certain to render the greatest good to this class of the agriculturists.

Embankments are much needed, but the Syndicate hesitate to do anything in this line because "a majority of the fields have passed by way of mortgage into the hands of the sowkars, who do not care to improve them in any way," and the Syndicate think the duty lies with the sowkars. During the year eleven disputes, involving Rs.13,000 in all, "between the sowkars and their debtors," were settled "through the good offices of the Secretary and a small panchayet. We should be glad to see more and more local effort of this sort, but obviously there is pressing need of legislation to support it.

The *Madras Mail* gives an account of a friendly but informal conference which some rayats had with Lord Ampthill on the Tirupporur Road near Chingleput. They put before him a grievance which the *Mail* admits to be well-founded. It is one that has already been discussed in our pages. The land in Madras is divided into survey numbers, each of which, for revenue purposes, is treated as an indivisible unit. If the whole "survey number" has been left uncultivated, or if over the whole of it the crops have failed, then a remission of the land tax may be allowed; but, and this is the subject of complaint, if any part has produced a crop, the land tax must be paid on the whole "number." Suppose this to consist of ten acres, and a single acre is cropped, the assessment must be paid on the other nine acres as well, and this even though these nine acres should have a different owner from the one fertile acre. This is surely a grievance that should be promptly remedied.

"THE INDIAN BORDERLAND."[1]

FOR more than twenty years past Sir Thomas Holdich served on and beyond the North-West Frontier of India as a survey officer, and in the present volume he tells us a great deal of what he personally saw, did, and suffered, and he carefully refrains from writing at second hand. The pictures he presents are of the most varied character. They open out in a panorama from the jehannum of the salt pits of Kishm, at the entrance to the Persian Gulf, all along the frontier (or so-called frontier) line to the heights of the Pamirs where three Empires meet, and back to the Oxus, the Helmund, and the Hari Rud. He traverses stony, waterless tracts and scales barren and snow-clad peaks with indefatigable professional ardour and with unfailing humour and resource, sometimes exchanging blows with recalcitrant tribesmen, but generally regarding the crack of the jezail as an irrelevant interruption of the chief business of man—surveying. At the time of the Afghan War of 1878-80, the mountains overhanging the plains were shrouded in mystery, and their inhabitants were as shadowy in our knowledge as their land was. It was Sir Thomas's good fortune to raise the final "purdah" in his last turn of service as Chief Survey Officer with the Tirah force. We do not doubt that the results of so much surveying are very valuable in the scientific point of view, and we can safely assert that no reader need be deterred from tackling the volume by Sir Thomas's professional enthusiasm, for it is full of human interest depicted by a facile and humorous pen. What we would like to see is the political outcome; and, while we direct our special attention to that, we feel bound to observe that the author expressly states that any political views he expresses "must be regarded as the views of an outsider—a looker-on at the game—and not as those of an official member of the Indian administration."

Let us express once for all our appreciation of the admirable descriptions of territories and of peoples set before us by Sir Thomas Holdich, as well as of his own professional energy and success; and let us again say that our main object is in his plan wholly subordinate and incidental. It may be, however, that for this very reason his evidence on political points may turn out to be not unimportant. Both in his first two chapters on the Afghan War and in his historical appendix he misses—probably he avoids—the essential causes of that deplorable blunder. But he says "the opinion has often been expressed by Indian politicians that had Lord Mayo lived, the war of 1878-9 would never have taken place," and he does not express disagreement. He speaks of "the old unscientific (but most practical) boundary which we inherited from the Sikhs," an expression that seems to pass judgment upon Disraeli's "scientific frontier." His description of our "nebulous" knowledge of Afghanistan, and of our "still more uncertain information about our own immediate frontier," throws a weird light on the risks of the expedition. With "the agonising blasts of icy wind" in the Bolan and "the intense cold and the insufficient food of the Dasht-i-bedaulat" (the "plain of desolation") still in his mind, he yet thinks that "the importance of Quetta as the outpost to Western India can hardly be over-estimated"—Quetta, "one of the keys to the front doors of India," "the real citadel of our southern frontier system of defence." There speaks the surveyor; but would not the statesman and the soldier rather give the enemy the benefit of the "agonising blasts" of the Bolan and the fever marshes between it and the Indus?

Three chapters are devoted to the Russo-Afghan Boundary Commission, including the friction at Panjdeh. Again the author impresses our egregious ignorance of the country, and the waste of time in fitting in the actual with the diplomatic boundary. Sir Thomas may intend nothing more than a statement of fact, but there seems to be an implication of sarcasm in his description of the Commission as consisting of "two or three thousand members, without reckoning the small army of local employés," including a political staff of "ten officers and nine Native attachés," while the survey staff mustered only "three officers, three Native assistants, and a half-trained following to deal with a hundred thousand square miles of High Asia." Later he got three more Native surveyors. Again and again he praises his Native assistants. For example:—

> Chief amongst them was Yusuf Sharif, a Mahomedan gentleman who has worked with me, and for me, for so many years in so many different fields that I feel it difficult to acknowledge his services adequately. He has received the recognition of the Royal Geographical Society since those days. He has become a Khan Bahadur, and he is an authority on the geography of so much of our Indian frontier that there is probably not another Native in the service of Government who is so full of "confidential" information of a practical nature. Withal he is a loyal and true-hearted gentleman, a living type of a class of Native employés of whom Sir West Ridgeway wrote, at the close of the Commission, that the Government of India had no better servant. May he live long to enjoy his honours!

Sir Thomas does not think much of Herat, but he anticipates that eventually the railway will connect Kuskh and New Chaman by way of Herat and Kandahar; and he looks to the break of gauge at Kushk or Herat and the temper of the Afghans thereabouts as safeguards against the use of it for an Indian invasion. It is useful to note that he thought "that all clans of Turkmans seemed well enough disposed towards the peaceful occupation of land development if they could only be certain of security," and that in the country as seen from Kabul "the keynote of the whole scene was progress—progress everywhere." Here then is the lesson for statesmen.

Sir Thomas served with Sandeman in Baluchistan—"a country of rugged barren hills intersecting stony plains and plateaux, of arid deserts" and so forth—and he shows us how the Gomul was opened up in the end of 1889. Then he writes:—

> Thus, by one well-planned and well-executed movement, was all the stretch of frontier between the Bolan and the Gomal brought into subjection to the British Raj; and thus were all the wildest Pathan races of the Indus borderland taught that the reach of the Sirkar was as long as its arm was strong.

Yes, but what of the right and the wrong of it? And did the Pathans need the lesson? And was the lesson learned? Not a bit of it; for Sir George White's expedition in 1891 was presently necessary. The *rationale* of the business is simple: to get the whip hand of the tribes by taking command of their back doors—and that by a distinct act of aggression. The same idea is responsible for our occupation of Wana. Sir Thomas describes the Waziristan expedition of 1881 and the expedition against the Sheranis in 1883, and, while rejoicing in the expanded opportunities of surveying, exhibits the difficulties of the "unutterably rugged and unattractive hills"—the "villainous compound of defiles and stone walls"—and tells us that "when the Waziris meet us with our own weapons they will be adversaries quite as awkward to deal with as the Afridis." "So far as my experience goes," he says, "the fierce objection which is supposed to exist in the minds of frontier tribes-people to the lifting of their 'purdah,' or veil, is one which is very readily overcome with a little judicious management"—*i.e.*, with a few judicious rupees. Why expeditions then? Sir Thomas lets a good deal of light in on the Durand boundary, which was simply a northern application of the Sandeman principle. He tells us that the Amír disliked the boundary exceedingly. And

> as for the independent tribespeople themselves, they probably knew very little till the matter was explained to them by their mullahs. Their general view of the situation (as I gathered, not from one, but from every tribesman I questioned) was that the Indian Government meant annexation.

Then he speaks of the forts constructed on the Samana as "proving to be such a source of irritation to the Orakzais and of such doubtful utility to ourselves." Then as to the Wana episode, which led to Lockhart's expedition, he says:—

> There was no suspicion of concerted action about this affair of Wana. The Waziris had heard of the boundary that was to be placed between them and their refuge (in fact, between them and some of their pleasantest summer resorts, and they saw nothing short of annexation in the military occupation of Wana. How could they think otherwise? It was a strike (and a strike which produced new impressions of the fighting capacity of the Waziris) for their independence, and every Wazir of the Gomul districts will tell you so to this day.

The author has much to say from the Kunar Valley, where he was demarcating the boundary during the troubles at Chitral. He thinks there is "strong evidence to show that the late Sipah Salar (Ghulam Haidar, the Amír's Commander-in-Chief) actively assisted the Hadda Mullah and encouraged Mohmands, Mahmunds, and Bajaoris to wage war," and that some of his troops were actually with Umra Khan at the siege of Chitral. Then

[1] "The Indian Borderland, 1880-1900." By Colonel Sir T. Hungerford Holdich, K.C.I.E., C.B., etc. With 22 Illustrations and a Map. (London: Methuen & Co.)

why did the Government not take up the point seriously? Sir Thomas forgets that the Hadda Mullah had been as vexatious to the Amir as he ever could be to us; and, if the facts were as he supposes, they could not be kept under a bushel. After all, however, the question comes back to this point: "It was the actual demarcation that set the teeth of these independent mountaineers on edge," in the Tirah as elsewhere. It was "a boundary war"; and "it is perhaps one of the most useful lessons that we learnt from this boundary war—the lesson of respect for the people who fought well for their independence." Is there sub-acid sarcasm in the expression? And have we learnt the lesson? Sir Thomas agrees with Colonel Durand's description of the regions about Chitral, which certainly do not invite to a holiday. Is he then bitten by the dread of a Russian invasion from the Pamirs? Not he. He says:—

> We may safely leave that corner of the world to take care of its own interests and ours, unassisted. Russia could never by any conceivable effort reach India either by Tibet or by the Muztagh. Further west, when we come to the much-discussed passes over the Hindu Kush leading to Hunza and Gilgit, and to Chitral, and Jalalabad, we have interposed an Afghan barrier between them and Russia. But without that barrier there never need have been the smallest apprehension of any dangerous aggression on the part of Russia Indiawards. . . . . So long as the mountains remain as they are, no military force of any consequence whatever ever will get through. . . . . What conceivable fatuity would lead any Russian strategist to plan an advance on India that should pass by Chitral or Gilgit when an open door lies farther west?

The palm of good sense was, we think, borne away by the Chinese authorities on the Pamir border. "None of them had appeared to put in any claim, and none of them seemed in the least concerned where we put our pillars up, or whether indeed we put any up at all."

OUR LONDON LETTER.

WESTMINSTER, Thursday.

PARLIAMENT has adjourned for a holiday which it has earned by the severity of its labours rather than by their fruitfulness. So far, the Session has proved singularly barren. Not a single Bill of the first importance has been introduced by the Government, and when the Lords met the other day to receive the Royal Assent to the legislation of the last two months, the sole harvest of the Session was found to be comprised in an Appropriation Bill. This was the first Act of the King's reign, and the prophets may draw what omens they please from the fact that it was a measure to provide for expenditure, largely incurred on account of the war. A point of minor historical interest was the revival on this occasion of a phrase—*Le roy le veult*—not heard in the House of Lords since the death of William IV. Sixty-four years ago contemporary chroniclers noted that the Clerk of Parliament experienced great difficulty in framing his tongue to say, *La reyne le veult*. The phrase, in that form, had been out of use from the time of Queen Anne's death. Perhaps the masculine is a more facile gender than the feminine; at all events, the spokesman of King Edward, in signifying his Majesty's assent to the Money Bill, pronounced *Le Roy* with the confidence of an early Norman.

Under normal circumstances, a new Parliament should begin its career with a rush of enthusiasm and a sudden sprouting of new reputations. One looks back on the six best weeks of the first working Session of the present Parliament and finds, with Mr. Herbert Gladstone, that the retrospect is a desert. The Tory Tithonus has had his lease of life extended without a renewal of his youth. Immortality is a poor boon when associated with senility, and it is that kind of benefit that seems to have been conferred on Lord Salisbury's valetudinarian though long-lived ministry. "Oh, strange new land," says Lowell, apostrophising America, "that yet wast never young!" The words might be applied to our new Parliament. It is, perhaps, more strange than new, but although scarcely six months old no one who has seen it at work would imagine it to be merely in its first childhood.

So far it has done nothing but yield up money, extorted by the throttling persuasion of the closure. Yet there has been much talk and plenty of opportunity for individual distinction. What has been the result? Nothing to boast of. The Nationalists have shown themselves more united and less polite than in the last Parliament. Some of them have been carried out by the police, which from the Nationalist point of view is something to the good, for the incident struck a blow at the dignity of the House of Commons. Others, again, have proved themselves worthy successors of the late Mr. Biggar, while the party, as a whole, has worked together with a cohesion and determination that bode ill for the peace of British Governments. But these, after all, are the triumphs of the camp rather than of the senate. Not a single new orator, ready debater, or original character appears to have been thrown up by the General Election. The nearest approach to an unconventional mind is forthcoming in Mr. Winston Churchill, whose imitation of his father is so excellent that it almost produces an illusion of originality.

Among the veterans, most have stood still and others have receded — Ex-Ministers are still marking time, and their followers, with the striking exception of Mr. Lloyd George, are copying their example. On the other side, nobody counts but Mr. Balfour and Mr. Chamberlain, and of neither can it be said that he is the man he was. Mr. Balfour retains his personal popularity, his skill in debate and his saving sense of humour. Unfortunately, he has no more aptitude for business than was possessed by that other child, Mr. Harold Skimpole; and as he occupies a position in which a knowledge of the affairs of the world is almost indispensable he has naturally been made to cut a very poor figure. A racehorse is out of place between the shafts of a dray. Mr. Balfour winds up a debate with inimitable grace, but he should resign the leadership of the House of Commons to Mr. Hanbury or some other horny-handed son of toil. It is not in his line.

Some people think that because Mr. Balfour's star seems to be waning, Mr. Chamberlain's must be waxing. The fact is that both are losing their fire. Mr. Chamberlain has not come unscathed through the war that was to establish his fame as the Bismarck of the British Empire. Since the opening of the Session he has made several important speeches, and in all of them the same peculiarities of temper have been conspicuous. The Colonial Secretary was never what one would call an urbane controversialist, but latterly his morbid impatience of criticism, querulous inflections, and habit of verbal misrepresentation have developed to a painful degree. He is a disappointed man and is unable to conceal the fact. One effect of his increasingly acrimonious style of debate has been witnessed this Session in the tendency of the benches to become more and more empty with each successive speech and each successive sentence of the orator. Incredible as it may sound, Mr. Chamberlain is gradually losing his hold on the House of Commons.

A disquieting feature of the outlook is Lord Salisbury's state of health. Every year about this time the Prime Minister is regularly struck down by a malady, vaguely diagnosed as influenza. Although of vigorous physique and endowed with an excellent constitution, Lord Salisbury has arrived at a time of life when no indisposition, however trifling, can be regarded with composure. Politicians watch over his health with a vigilance that recalls the anxiety of their forefathers for the prolongation of Queen Anne's reign; and their vigil is animated by the same spirit. The question perpetually on their lips is—Who shall rule us next? For the present, happily, there would seem to be no need for an immediate decision, and it may be that before the time comes, one or other of the various pretenders may have established his claim to the succession beyond dispute or have fallen hopelessly out of the running.

Perhaps Mr. Labouchere had the latter alternative in view when he tried, on Monday last, to get Mr. Balfour excluded from the House of Commons as a stranger. The incident was more entertaining than important, and scarcely justified the contention of the member for Northampton that it involved a grave constitutional point. On the demise of the Queen, Ministers were reappointed to their offices by the King, and according to some authorities ought to have sought re-election before resuming their seats in Parliament. Ministers admit that under the existing law re-election might possibly be required, but they also contend that they have six months' grace before re-appointment, and, meanwhile, they are pushing forward a bill to remove the necessity for each and all of those tedious formalities. Their critics in the House of Commons took no exception to this course. All they concerned themselves with was the somewhat academic point of whether the Government had or had not committed a technical breach of

the law before proceeding to amend it. It was a lawyer's discussion, and in the end as at the beginning remained involved in a mist of legal obscurity.

Nevertheless, Mr. Balfour, but for the ruling of the chair, might have found himself in an embarrassing predicament. His reappointment by the King had been duly gazetted, so that in his case there could clearly be no plea to the effect that, granting the obligation of re-election, the occasion had not yet arisen. Mr. Labouchere bluntly denounced the leader of the House as "a stranger within the Bar," and as a matter of privilege called for his exclusion. The Deputy-Speaker, however, cleverly evaded the essential point at issue. The question of privilege, he decided, should have been raised on the first day of the Session. It was now too late, but Mr. Labouchere, if he pleased, could seek redress in a court of law. If Mr. Labouchere were to take the hint, the House of Commons might meet with an unpleasant surprise. In any case, the rest of us would owe him our gratitude as the author of a *cause celèbre* that could not fail to add to the gaiety of nations.

NOTES FROM BOMBAY.

THE ASSAM COOLIES BILL.

MR. COTTON'S STAUNCHNESS.

[From an Indian Correspondent.]

Bombay, March 16.

The event of the week is the passing of the Assam Coolies Bill and the remarkable incidents which accompanied its passage through the Supreme Legislative Council. It is unnecessary to refer to the previous history of legislation in the same direction. For years past the Government of India has made many strenuous efforts to regulate the employment of labour in the province of Assam, where the tea-plant is so largely cultivated. Times out of number has the Indian Press inveighed against the malpractices of the recruiting "sirdars" or agents of the planters, as well as against the treatment offered by the planters themselves to the poor coolies, men, women, and children. Now and again these evil practices and *zoolum* have been brought to light in courts of law. Things were exceptionally bad before 1881-82. But the humane and righteous Government of Lord Ripon did its best to mitigate those practices. It would not be an exaggeration to say that before the legislation of 1882 the condition of the Assam coolies amounted to mere slavery under a mask. In those days no Indian paper strove so vigorously to attack the system as the *Hindu Patriot*, then under the conduct of Kristo Das Pal. He called the legislation of the day the White Slave Law. It was no inapt name. That an enlightened and Christian Government like that of India should, under the thin veil of protective legislation, connive at something like slavery was indeed deplorable—the same Government which at the beginning of the nineteenth century paid millions to emancipate slaves in America and elsewhere. Though Lord Ripon's Government legislated with the object of ameliorating the condition of the unfortunate coolies of Assam, the effort was only partially successful. Every honest attempt on the part of the Indian Government to mitigate their hardship was strenuously resisted by the mercantile and planting interest in and out of the Council chamber. As a result the legislation was more in the nature of a compromise, where, of course, the stronger party had the lion's share of the gain. Twenty years have passed since the legislation of 1882, though meanwhile there has been more than one tinkering of the Act.

Latterly, owing to the immense development of the coal-mines in Bengal, wages have increased. The free coolie, who declines to be a slave or to be caught in the net spread for him by the wily "garden-sirdar" on behalf of the tea-planters, can work where he likes and demand a wage measured by the necessity of the employer. But for the statutory coolie, he has his Wages Act, also his pains and penalties under bonds and indentures, which the capitalist class know so well, in their own interests, to frame and get executed. Many, indeed, have been the complaints of ill-treatment, *zuburdustu* and what not—aye, even outrages by men who ought to set a better example to their servants. The present Chief Commissioner of Assam, happily for the oppressed coolie, is Mr. H. J. S. Cotton, a civilian of stern and unbending independence, and withal trained in the administration of Lord Ripon. Having assured himself of the insufficiency of the wage allowed to these statutory coolies, and pointed out how much worse they were in comparison with their free brethren earning their bread elsewhere, he recommended the Imperial Government to increase the amount of the monthly wage from Rs. 5 to 6. Immediately the old hue-and-cry was raised in the interested organs of the planters. Mr. Cotton was shrewd enough, from his past experience of legislation in this matter, to anticipate it. He fought hard in the Select Committee to maintain that wage. At last a compromise was effected. The wage was increased to five rupees eight annas. Such is the magnificent increased allowance, while, on the showing of the planters' representative in the Council itself, statutory coolies are growing scarcer and free coolies, in a better climate than that of damp and malarious Assam, are earning better wages in comparison.

But the planting interest was not appeased. It was angry that any legislation had been introduced into the Council for the increase of wages. It complained of the depressed condition of the industry, forgetting the woes of the coolies. So the planters set themselves, as far as agitation could, to nullify the compromise arrived at in the Select Committee. The interested organs of public opinion persecuted Mr. Cotton with unjustifiable attacks, which he manfully hurled back, and which the Viceroy was compelled to reprove. Whether there was a "conspiracy," as the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* states, or not, need not be enquired into. But it is a fact that Mr. Cotton was surprised in the open Council at the change of front his own official colleagues had assumed since they sat on the Select Committee. The device was brought up, and successfully carried out by a majority of votes, that the increased rate of wages should not come into operation for the next two years. It was urged that the depressed industry should have time to recover itself. Whether this be the correct plea or whether it was thought that at the end of two years there would not be a Commissioner of the stamp of Mr. Cotton to enforce the legislation I need not stop to enquire. There are the facts; and it is strange that the Viceroy, who always holds the scales even in such matters, should have succumbed to this second compromise.

I refrain from touching on the economic aspect of the amended Act, as well as on the morality of the procedure adopted by the Imperial Legislative Council. But it is, indeed, a matter of regret, from the point of view of the statutory coolies, that the Government of India weakly succumbed after having admitted the inadequacy of the wages. Either the wages were sufficient or they were insufficient. If the former, then no legislation was necessary. But the fact that legislation was held essential demonstrates the inadequacy of the wages. If so, why should the poor coolies be deprived of their right to earn more for another period of two years? Would the Board of Trade in England have acted so weakly? If so, what a howl of indignation would have been heard from the vigilant and disinterested Press, and how soon public opinion would have corrected the erring Board. But here the case is worse. There is no society to befriend the interests of the oppressed coolies of Assam. Their Government is their only providence; and it is, indeed, sad to see that providence behaving in this matter so inconsistently. No official in this controversy has emerged with grace and credit from it save Mr. Cotton. One who heard his powerful and eloquent, nay, earnest and convincing, speech in the Council writes to me a long account of that official. He has nothing but unbounded praise for his sterling independence and public spirit. But civilians of the type of Mr. Cotton are rare. They never are *personae gratae*. No wonder that Mr. Cotton is still only a Chief Commissioner when he should have long ago been Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal.

THE INDIAN BUDGET.

FURTHER OPINIONS OF THE BRITISH PRESS.

The "Morning Post."

One of the things that "the Man in the Street" is apt to forget is that he is, in his measure, responsible for the government of India. That is the correct way of putting the matter, but in plain English it means that the forty millions of persons in Great Britain have in the last resort to decide how the three hundred millions in India are to be governed. Every British voter has to answer at the bar of history for the welfare of

some one-and-twenty Natives of India. The verdict of history on the British nation depends to a great extent on the way in which that duty is discharged. Now the Native of India, though his skin is a little darker than that of the British-born subject, is a human being very much like any other human being, liable to hunger and thirst, finding it necessary to work for his living, and looking to the Government to treat him with justice no doubt, but above all with intelligent sympathy. When after the revolt of the Sepoys or Native Indian troops of the East India Company in 1857 the government of India was transferred from a chartered company to the Crown the pledge was given that India should be governed for the benefit of its inhabitants, and that pledge it has been the endeavour of British Governments ever since to redeem. It will never be repudiated; the honour of every British subject at home is committed to its fulfilment. For that reason every man and woman in this country has an interest in the policy of the Indian Government, of which Lord Curzon in his speech at Calcutta yesterday gave an outline. Lord Curzon made a dozen points, of which the first in order of importance for the public at home was the ninth in the list. The present telegraph charges are intolerable. No better proof of the truth of the statement could be given than the brevity of Reuter's telegram which condenses the Viceroy's speech into twelve headings, each of which to "the Man in the Street" is simply unintelligible. To communicate with India costs something like 4s. a word, a prohibitive tariff, involving hardship to a hundred thousand British in India, as well as to two hundred thousand British at home, and involving also the closest restrictions on the reproduction at home, in time to be of use, of all ideas expressed in India. It is most probable that if the tariff were reduced 50 per cent. the number of messages would be quadrupled and the profits of the telegraph companies by no means diminished. But if the telegraph companies could not deal with the increased business consequent on a reduction of charge the Government ought to lay down cables of its own, and thus assist the communications between India and Great Britain. . . . . Lord Curzon is not lost in the clouds of speculative theory. He has the statesman's insight into particulars. The Indian official charged with the duty of ruling a country has been for five-and-twenty years the victim of post-office and telegraph. Instead of having authority to decide according to the best of his knowledge, judgment, and conscience, he has been expected to write reports, submitting all cases to the provincial Government at a capital five hundred or a thousand miles away. On his report the decision was made by a clerk in the central bureau of the provincial Government. The results were, first, that the clerk, who could know nothing of the local life, usually decided badly and never decided as well as the man on the spot would have done, and secondly that the authority of the man on the spot, on which the stability of the Indian Empire depends, was undermined. Lord Curzon has wisely decided to abolish this absurd red-tape system, and to restore the authority of the man on the spot, always more competent and always a bigger man than the clerk in the distant secretariat. This decision is a godsend to India, and would alone suffice to make Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty memorable. . . . . In India the chief blunder of the British has been the introduction of English law into regions for which it was not suited. The English land law is the most artificial product existing on the globe. The English law of mortgage presupposes English tenures. When the British annexed the Punjab, and by their authority gave security of tenure, the Native Mussulman farmers found that they could borrow huge sums on mortgage. In Sikh days they could borrow a little, and when the money-lender pressed for interest or capital they could cut his throat or strangle him, and as dead men tell no tales the obligation was cleared. Under British law the farmer borrowed freely. But the British law allowed no throat cutting, and enforced the mortgage. By this means thousands of farms in the Punjab have passed by foreclosure from good fighting Mussulmans to Hindu money-lenders, whom a fifth-form boy could kill with a stick.—(March 28.)

THE "MORNING LEADER."

"One of the things that the Man in the Street is apt to forget," said the *Morning Post* the other day, "is that he is, in his measure, responsible for the government of India." That is quite true. And our Imperialist contemporary might have added that Imperialists, in the lump, do their best to keep the Man in the Street in this condition of ignorance and therefore of indifference. Whatever the occasion may be—whether Parliament is asked to vote a national grant to the relief of famine, or the constituencies are urged to contribute to the cost of an Imperial war waged beyond the Indian frontier, or a Royal Commission recommends that, as we pay the whole charges of the Colonial Office, we might pay at least a small fraction of the charges of the India Office—the policy of our Imperialists is the same. They are determined at all hazards to prevent anything which might lead the Man in the Street to think (as the *Pioneer* once put it) that he was paying part of the cost of the "Indian concern" and ought therefore to have a hand in controlling its working. To keep the public at home careless about the Empire is one of the aims of the good Imperialist. One is not therefore surprised that the Indian Budget, which was introduced at Calcutta on Wednesday week, and discussed and approved on Wednesday last, has excited little remark in London, and that of a soporific kind. We have suggested before, and we repeat the suggestion, that our Imperialist contemporaries should procure a rubber stamp for these occasions. Something about "elasticity," and "recuperative power," and "gratifying surplus," would really be quite adequate, and it would save time and trouble if the thing were done once for all.

It goes without saying that the Budget, which has to be passed in India without a division, and which does not come before the House of Commons to be passed at all, shows a surplus. But, as the *Times* said yesterday, "Indian Budgets are always more or less of a speculative character," so the conjectural surplus is neither here nor there. What is really rather scandalous is that the Revised Estimate for the year just ended is made to show a surplus of a million and a half. Yet it was a year of unparalleled famine, and the people perished by the million for want of food though there was food enough and to spare in the country at a price. The work of relief, we were told, was straining the resources of the Government—that is, the taxpayer—to the uttermost. But, if so, how comes there to be a surplus of a million and a half sterling when men could be kept alive at a cost of three-halfpence a day? The Man in the Street, we think, should be curious to know the answer—is the surplus fictitious, or might a more liberal system of relief have been adopted? If the surplus is genuine, why is there no remission of taxation? It is notorious that taxation has reached its highest possible point in India, and the most recent taxes (including the cotton duties) were imposed to meet the loss by exchange. Yet that loss has since been averted, at the taxpayer's expense, by an arrangement which, on paper, makes fifteen rupees equivalent to a pound sterling. It would be intolerable, if the surplus were genuine, that the salt-tax and the land-tax should remain at their present oppressive standard. The best commentary upon the official series of gratifying surpluses is to be found in the census returns. They show, on a moderate estimate, that during the past decade famine has caused a loss of twenty-eight millions of lives in India. But if the glowing accounts of Finance Ministers could be taken at their face value, we should have to suppose that the Indian peasant was grown fat with accumulated prosperity.

Lord Curzon, who as Viceroy has been Liberal enough to offend a section of the bureaucracy, vouchsafed to his Legislative Council on Wednesday the catalogue of twelve reforms—the modern Labours of Hercules—which he secretly set before himself two years ago. There is a theatrical touch alike in the original secrecy and in the present announcement. But let that pass. Our criticism of the catalogue would rather be that it lacks the one thing needful. Of his (is it his?) frontier policy, and his (is it his?) scheme of frontier administration we have already spoken. The recent Blue-book confirms our opinion and our suspicions. But Lord Curzon does well to look to the evils arising from the too frequent transfers of civil officers, and the interminable writing of reports and minutes. That rulers should be essayists, and tedious essayists, does not suffice for a people. So, too, the Man in the Street can but approve any diminution of the high telegraphic charges which separate him from India, and Lord Curzon's action (witness the Rangoon case) regarding the relations between British soldiers and Indians. But in his dealings with irrigation (the Cinderella of Anglo-Indian public works) and agricultural indebtedness, Lord Curzon touches merely the fringe of the great problem of India—the appalling poverty of the masses. Why will he not institute a searching economic enquiry into the causes of poverty in a few typical villages? Can it be that this is his tenth project—which the telegrams omit?—(March 30.)

THE "TIMES."

It is in the highest degree satisfactory to learn that the finances of India, after years of storm and stress, are calming down to a level of quietude and solvency. Plague, famine, and war have put a grievous strain upon the Empire, and it is greatly to the credit of the Anglo-Indian Administration that, in spite of these adverse conditions, the balance between revenue and expenditure does not now work out an alarming result. Indian Budgets, of course, are always more or less of a speculative character, and they are very often complicated by unnecessary and unexpected changes in the form of the estimates. The revised figures of income and expenditure for 1900-1901 show, as the final result, a surplus of £1,640,000, reckoning 15 rupees as equivalent to one pound sterling. The Budget Estimates for 1901-1902, which are little more than guesswork, are said to work out a surplus of £691,000, though it is not easy to discover this from the official figures. What is important to note, however, is that, notwithstanding the immediate demands for military expenditure and the paralysing effects of the famine and the plague, which have so seriously affected the agricultural prosperity of large areas in India, the people, on the whole, are better off than they ever were before. The yield of existing taxes is increasing steadily where no catastrophe has intervened. "Unless our reasonable anticipations,"

Sir Edward Law says, "are falsified by an unprecedented recurrence of serious disasters, we are entitled to look forward with some confidence to the future, and to hope for the early dawn of a period of considerable prosperity." The official optimism of this statement is qualified by a rather unusual note of caution. We are all the more pleased to observe that the calculations of the Financial Minister of India are accepted without misgiving by the unofficial members of the Legislative Council, British and Native. We do not undertake to say how far it is true, as was contended by Sir Allan Arthur, who spoke on behalf of the Chamber of Commerce of Calcutta, that the recovery of India from the depression following the "staggering blow" dealt by the famine is to be attributed to the fixing of the value of the rupee. But the progress of the Indian populations, at any rate, is admitted even by those who criticise somewhat severely the alleged failure of the Anglo-Indian Government to develop the industries and to give free play to the commercial energies of India.

The Viceroy's speech on the Budget in the Legislative Council took a wide range. Lord Curzon is always full of ideas, and on this occasion he expounded a policy, under a dozen heads, extending over the whole area of Indian administration. We may note, without comment, his insistence on a new frontier policy of a practical character, measured by the needs of the present day, and stripped of the labels of "forward" or "backward" which have been too long in use. We hope most sincerely that the new administrative system on the frontier, which has been brought into operation under Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty, will, as the Governor-General says, furnish a solution of the problem that has baffled successive Governments for a quarter of a century. We have yet to put this system to the test of experience. It is hardly necessary to wait so long to decide whether or not the changes in the "leave rules" of the Civil Service are right or wrong. Every one who knows anything of public work will agree with Lord Curzon that "it is hopeless to expect good administration without continuity, intelligent administration without local knowledge, popular administration without personal interest." The constant shiftings of officials, before they have had time to get to know the people of the districts to which they are appointed and to acquire their confidence, has brought about not a little of the mischief in India and has made a great deal of excellent and earnest labour abortive. It is closely connected with another evil, which is of long standing in the Indian administrative system—the "interminable writing," as the Viceroy calls it, which leads to such a waste of energy and to so much clogging of the wheels of official work. What is to be feared in India, Lord Curzon truly says, is "not tyranny by the Executive authority, but by the pen." The traditions of a service, in which the writing of able and eloquent "minutes" has hitherto been the chief qualification for promotion and the highest title to official fame, will not be readily uprooted. Lord Curzon's efforts, however, in which he appeals to every official under the Government of India to join with him, will, we trust, be not without some immediate result.—(March 29.)

THE "YORKSHIRE POST."

There is more irrigation possible, and Lord Curzon includes it in his programme of matters which the Government of India must keep steadily in mind. He told the Council that he would gladly devote the whole of the revenue to works of economic improvement, but in view of the military changes all the world over it is necessary that India should be put in a proper condition of defence. Native opinion as expressed in the Council agrees with this. India is to be made capable of arming and clothing her Army, so that she may be "as independent as possible of England in the event of an emergency." If we were at war with a Power or combination of Powers that involved far greater pecuniary and physical efforts than the war in South Africa, there would be a waste of energy if the War Office had, in addition, to send out vast quantities of stores to India. With the garrison we keep there and the general loyalty expressed, it should not be dangerous to allow India to manufacture all that she needs of guns and ammunition. And Lord Curzon intimates that more will be done to preserve the loyalty of the great class of cultivators, from whom most of our Native regiments are drawn. The measure passed last autumn to prevent the alienation of land in the Punjab has been attacked in the Native Press, but it may be questioned if this represents the views of the classes mainly affected. At the same time there were improvements possible that would have made the measure more effective in preventing accumulation of land—the evil being that the cultivating owners are tempted to sell, or get into the hands of money-lenders, who convert them into mere tenants, to the depreciation, as the military authorities say, of the classes from whom their best soldiers come. Lord Curzon says that the same evil of the indebtedness of the cultivators "meets the Government everywhere, in ever increasing volume and seriousness." In that case no doubt it will be dealt with.—(March 30.)

THE "GLOBE."

Lord Curzon scarcely needed to justify himself at such length as he did yesterday for approving some additional expenditure on the military defence of India. Critics who carp at this policy shut their eyes to the march of events when they make pretence that the existing forces are adequate for all time. There might be something to say for that contention were there the least likelihood of Russia making a permanent halt within her existing Asiatic boundaries. But the stealthy southerly movement of the Cossack is certain to be resumed sooner or later, and the Indian Government only acts with proper circumspection by seeing to the defence of the spacious provinces it has in charge. If that measure of safety can be attained by the addition of a million sterling to the Army Estimates for the forthcoming year, it can only be said that never was money spent to greater advantage. Our only doubt is whether a considerably larger sum should not have been put down. In the case of the officering of Native regiments, it seems very questionable whether the cadres should not receive larger strengthening than the Estimates provide for. This has always been the weakest spot in the Staff Corps system; the officers it furnishes to the local army are of the best quality, but it has been found, again and again, that the number is not nearly sufficient to provide for campaigning waste. During the Tirah "little war" some Native corps were almost denuded of British officers; in one instance the commandant of a regiment had to discharge the additional functions of adjutant, quartermaster, and second in command, there being no other white officer present at headquarters. To avoid the possible recurrence of that lamentable breakdown it would seem sound policy to augment the cadres of all Native corps serving in the new frontier province.—(March 28.)

THE "REVIEW OF THE WEEK."

The latest Resolution, received in this country by last mail, deals with a very vital matter, that of references and annual reports. The tendency of late years has been to refer the most trifling, as well as urgently important, matters for sanction to the provincial secretariat, with the result of wasting time and causing delays when prompt action is necessary. The closing of a fair at which cholera had broken out was delayed, not long since, to our knowledge for five days while orders were awaited from a leisurely secretariat, the result being an epidemic which might otherwise have been nipped in the bud. A maximum limit to reports is now to be prescribed; the number of subsidiary reports and returns, monthly, quarterly, and half-yearly, which officers of all grades have now to submit to their superiors, is to be rigorously curtailed. "The idea that it is necessary to say something should be discarded." The abuse which it is sought to reform is described as one "which has attained to grave and, in some cases, extravagant dimensions," and as "a serious obstacle to the good government of India." It is declared that "there is no intention of allowing these reforms to be as unproductive of result as some of their predecessors have been." These are brave words, but it must be remembered that Lord Curzon will have arrayed against him every provincial secretariat in India—that is to say, the most influential official class—though the downtrodden practical element will be unanimously with him. We can do no less than congratulate him upon his courage, and wish him every success.—(March 29.)

THE "FINANCIAL NEWS."

It is to be regretted that the portions of the Viceroy's speech relating to railway policy have not been telegraphed at any length. Lord Curzon speaks of railways as a blessing to the country, and the most unifying agency existing in India. For that very reason we wish to see the Indian hierarchy stirred to pay heed to Sir Allan Arthur's complaint of the obstruction to private railway enterprise. Sir Edward Law, in the course of the debate, fell back on the well-worn statement that capital is not readily forthcoming for railway construction in India without a Government guarantee. That carries us no further on; and, indeed, it might be retorted that in view of the experience of the Great Indian Peninsula shareholders, first at the hands of the Indian Government, and afterwards at those of the Imperial Treasury, it may by-and-by be difficult to get money even with a guarantee. It is hard to appraise in their due order of demerit the factors that keep private capital out of the Indian railway field. Instability of exchange no longer operates; but the removal of that bar has been quite ineffectual to woo capital to India. How far it is true that private enterprise is deterred by the feeling that the Government builds all the really promising railways on its own account we cannot tell; but influences like these could be got out of the way were there less angularity in the dealings of the Government with outside capitalists. There must be in the pigeon-holes abundance of instructive correspondence that would enlighten a Government that wanted to know how to conciliate and attract the capitalist.—(March 29.)

THE "OBSERVER."

Viewing Lord Curzon's programme as a whole, the public have undoubtedly cause for satisfaction that the reins of our great Eastern dependency should lie in the hands of one who has been at such singular patience and pains to make himself

acquainted with every detail of his vast charge. He fortunately came to the task with exceptional qualifications engendered by taste, study, and, above all, by travel. India has thus had the good fortune to be ruled for the past two years by one who knows Asia as a whole, a very great advantage in dealing with Oriental character, which, whether it crops up in China, Bengal or Persia, possesses characteristics and peculiarities that have often fatally misled English statesmen trained in Western schools. There is a curious blend of the geographer and *littérateur*, too, in Lord Curzon, which has produced original methods of tackling existing problems, and more than average perspicuity in detecting latent abuses. His special tour throughout the frontier districts, for the purpose of examining the crux of the administrative difficulty, and the portentously long, but at the same time interesting and well-written minute of ninety-one paragraphs in which the whole situation was laid bare, were typical of the man, while the care with which, in the course of his Viceregal tour last year, he penetrated into corners of the Empire and little known States where no Governor-General had ever been seen, displayed a sensible resolve to make the personality of British rule a visible reality, just in the way that an Asiatic would best understand it. The true and matured results of his work cannot, of course, be gauged for some years; but there is every reason to be satisfied with the courage, energy and judgment he has hitherto brought to bear on his onerous task.—(March 31.)

THE "SPECTATOR."

Lord Curzon on March 27 summed up the Indian Budget debate in a long and, on the whole, optimistic speech. He took credit for great military reforms and improvements in frontier policy, and for restricting the incessant changes in the *personnel* of civil administration due to ill-judged rules of leave. He hinted pretty clearly at the same time that Viceroys ought to remain longer instead of passing away as "fleeting phantoms," a view strongly supported by the example of Lord Cromer, who has governed Egypt for sixteen years. He also denounced the "divorce brought about between the officer and his work by interminable writing," an old Indian complaint. He defended railways because they "developed the unity of India" (do we want that ?), but promised great works of irrigation, to which the only objection is that they breed the multitudes they supply with food. Clearly, Lord Curzon is no *Roi-fainéant*, and in most cases his judgment seems equal to his energy. He has been lucky, too, in finance, for the rupee is getting "stable."—(March 30.)

THE "SATURDAY REVIEW."

The Indian Budget debate in the Viceroy's Legislative Council glows with the optimism of officials from the Viceroy down to the mildest of the Native members. We only wish we could anticipate anything similar in the Budget of the home Government. One indubitable fact is the steady increase in the main sources of revenue and the surpluses. Army reform, rearmament, schemes of defence, were dwelt on with the satisfaction that arises ever over increased expenditure when value is received. The Viceroy was even more sanguine than he usually is in his projects of reform and the effect of changes inaugurated during his Viceroyalty.—(March 30.)

MR. G. P. PILLAI ON INDIAN QUESTIONS.

[FROM A CORRESPONDENT]

The second week of the Indian Campaign in Lancashire and adjoining counties began on March 18 with a meeting at Leigh. Reports of the meeting appeared in the *Leigh Journal* and *Times* and the Leigh *Chronicle*. The *Leigh Journal*, in the course of its report, said:—Mr. Pillai, after congratulating the Leigh Division on being represented by so good a friend of India as Mr. Scott, said two facts alone were sufficient to impress one with the poverty existing in India. Whilst the average income per head in Great Britain was £40, in India it was 33s. 6d., and Sir William Hunter, a brilliant member of the Civil Service, had testified that forty millions of people went through life without sufficient food. Since 1858 there had been ten famines resulting in the loss of some 15,000,000 people, and to-day they were on the threshold of another famine, the extent of which could not as yet be calculated. The reason for these famines was not, as had been argued, the rapid increase in India's population, for the recent census showed that during the past ten years the people had only multiplied at the rate of 1·5 per cent. Neither were the people of that country improvident, as was shown by the old system of granaries. An enquiry into the condition of the country was urgently needed. Such an enquiry would be more than justified by its results to this country, for undoubtedly the prosperity of India contributed to the greater prosperity of this country, and of Lancashire in particular. Turning to the causes of India's poverty, Mr. Pillai said rents and taxes were excessive, in the Madras Presidency amounting to from 25 to 31 per cent. of the gross produce of the land, with the result that no less than 5,000,000 acres of arable land had been thrown out of cultivation in a few years. The Government, had, moreover, attached and sold 60,000 acres in this Presidency for arrears of revenue, and had themselves to purchase this very land because no one would come forward to pay more than one penny per acre. In addition to the very high land tax, other imposts were heavy, and whilst in this country taxes were only 6·5 per cent. of a man's income, in India they were 9 per cent. He asked, was it surprising that, under those circumstances, these people were compelled, when there was a slight want of rain, to sell their houses and to go to relief kitchens? Another point to be remembered was that every year £20,000,000 sterling was drained away from India to England, £250,000 going for the maintenance of the establishment of the Secretary for India, and a large amount to the Civil Service, with its high salaries and big pensions, the Government of India enjoying the distinction of being the costliest in the world. . . . The Chairman, in moving a vote of thanks to Mr. Pillai, remarked that an economic enquiry of the kind indicated by the lecturer was urgently needed, and it must be a *bona-fide* enquiry, not one of the usual Government kind, extending over so long a period that by the time its results were declared people had forgotten all about it. Mr. Isherwood, who seconded, alluded to the advocacy of India's claims in Mr. Scott's editorial columns, and said his paper was the only one in this country to send out a commissioner to enquire into the causes and prevention of the famines which wrought such havoc in India. That gentleman found that during the time that the working classes and others in Lancashire and different parts of the country were sending out money to those poor Natives to keep body and soul together, the tax collectors were yet going about the country collecting the taxes. Such was the policy being pursued in India, in which country we ought, as Englishmen, to take a very serious interest. Mr. Pillai's reference to the Leigh election last October was only another instance of how far-reaching was the interest taken in the contest.—The resolution having been adopted, Mr. Pillai said when he communicated to his people in India the way in which he had been received in this country they would be gratified, and he would consider himself amply rewarded if his remarks had induced them to pay a little more attention to the needs of the people of India. He had great pleasure in proposing a vote of thanks to the Chairman. This was heartily accorded, and Mr. Burrows, in responding, said the question was one in which they might take not only a sentimental interest, but it affected their pockets, because in India there were nearly 300,000,000 customers for our goods, if we could only see that they got sufficient reward for their labour to enable them to purchase them. They wanted our goods, and whilst we were spending many millions of money on the acquisition of territory, here we were neglecting one of our most precious possessions. A gentleman who acted as agent in India for the Bolton firm of Messrs. Dobson and Barlow recently informed him that we are not touching the fringe of the vast trade of India. He was convinced that it would pay us, if only from a monetary point of view, to bring what pressure we could upon the Government to alter the conditions in that country that India might be prosperous. Its prosperity would mean still greater prosperity to us, and the sooner they got the power to manage their own affairs the better it would be all round. (Applause.)

On March 19 Mr. Pillai addressed a large meeting of women, convened by the Women's Liberal Association at Cheadle. Mr. Pillai spoke on "The Awful Poverty of India." The audience were extremely sympathetic. Resolutions were passed expressing sympathy with the people of India.

On March 20 Mr. Pillai spoke at Hadfield on the poverty question in India. The meeting was held in the Liberal Club.

On March 21, at Ardenshaw, Mr. Pillai spoke on "A Plea for a Liberal Policy in India." After the meeting there was a discussion in which many persons took part. They agreed that it was their duty to communicate to their member, who was a Liberal, the views of the lecturer, and insist on his taking a keener interest in Indian affairs. They also resolved to vote only for those who took a sympathetic view of Indian affairs at the General Election.

MR. J. M. PARIKH ON INDIAN QUESTIONS.

[FROM A CORRESPONDENT.]

During the past few days Mr. J. M. Parikh, Barrister-at-law, has addressed public meetings as follows:—March 23, at the Leek Liberal Club on "A Plea for a Liberal Policy in India;" March 24, at the William Morris Labour Church on "The Land Question in India." The church was crowded and the Rugby resolution was passed. March 25 at Stoke-upon-Trent at the Town Hall on "The Awful Poverty in India." The Rugby resolution was passed. In the evening Mr. Parikh spoke at the Congregational Church, where there was a very large attendance. On March 26 he spoke at Leek in the Town Hall on "The Awful Poverty of India," the Rugby resolution being passed; and on March 27, at Bristol, on the "Condition of India." Here he was assisted by Miss Garland, who seconded the Rugby resolution, which was passed unanimously. On March 28, Mr. Parikh spoke at Street on the "Awful Poverty of India." The Rugby resolution, which was seconded by Miss Garland, was passed.

The following report is taken from the *Leek Times* of March 30:—On Tuesday evening a meeting was held at the Town Hall, for the purpose of hearing an address by Mr. Parikh, a Hindu barrister-at-law. Mr. C. T. Gwynne occupied the chair, and amongst those present on the platform were Messrs. R. S. Milner, J. E. Ingham, W. Hassall, H. Salt, J. Mathews, J. Haycock, A. Perkin, G. Stubbs, J. Prime, and C. Ward. There was a poor attendance. The Chairman said he regretted that Mr. Hall, who was advertised to take the chair, was unable to do so owing to an attack of influenza. They were met that evening to hear an address from Mr. Parikh upon "The awful poverty of India." Sometimes he was almost appalled at the extent of the Indian Empire, being thirty times that of England and Wales put together and containing a population of

nearly 300 millions, or eight or nine times as many people as there were in England and Wales. During the past forty years there had been ten famines, and the estimated loss of life was fifteen millions, which was rather within the mark than over. When they looked at the fact that the Indian people were loyal, peaceable and industrious, there must be something radically wrong. Referring to the taxation of the country, he said the nett revenue was 78 millions, 27½ millions of which came from the land. It was the land tax that fell so heavily upon the labouring classes of that country. He did not know that there was anything very much to find fault with in the administration of India, but there was a great want of sympathy between the Anglo-Indians and the real population. He saw that reflected in books written by Anglo-Indians themselves, and then in England there was also a great want of sympathy with India. (Applause.) Mr. Parikh, in the course of his address, pointed out that since the British occupation of India there had been 22 great famines, 12 between 1770 and 1858, and 10 between 1858 and the present time. The lecturer's main point was that the famines were not caused so much by dry seasons as by the poverty of the Natives. There was, he proved, an ample food supply, and even in times of famine very large quantities of food stuffs had been exported from India. He urged that the sum raised under the head of taxation was not properly expended for the well-being of those taxed, and the peasants were so heavily burdened that at the end of a year they were often left without resources. The system of government was so pernicious that it was bound to ruin any country, and had ruined India as a country. During the past 40 years over 15 millions of people had been lost through mere starvation, and it was the fact that there were thousands of Natives who did not know what it was to have a single square meal a day. The expenses of the wars and the present Administration were borne entirely by the people of India, and though Great Britain received very great benefits from India this country bore no part of the taxation of the country, and even the India Office in England had to be borne by the Indian people. The Army maintained in India was greater than there was need for, and Mr. Parikh incidentally protested against the infliction of the cost of the Indian soldiers in South Africa and in China upon the Indian people, a cost which ought to be shared by the whole Empire, seeing that the Indian soldiers were working for the benefit of the Empire. In short, the unnatural economic conditions obtaining in India at present made the people so poor that in times of real calamity they were unable to purchase food. (Applause.)

Mr. J. E. Ingham then moved the following resolution: "That this meeting deplores the succession of severe famines which have caused the death of millions of people in recent years, and considers it necessary to prevent the recurrence of such severe calamities by moderating the Land Tax, extending irrigation works, and relieving as far as possible the burdensome drain on the financial resources of India which impoverishes the people of that country." After listening to the address of Mr. Parikh he thought a more moderate resolution could not possibly have been framed. As a member of the Municipal Council of Leek—(applause)—he thought that if they levied enormous taxes on the town, as was done in India, and the taxes were not spent to the advantage of the town, but wasted, he thought they would, at any rate, have to give some reasonable explanation. (Laughter.)

Mr. Milner seconded, and said he did so with some regret that it should be necessary for Englishmen to urge that this great justice should be done to India. They were told that they were an Imperial race, and that India was one of their brightest gems, but it did not look much like it by the manner in which their fellow-subjects were treated. They had in England power by their votes to make Governments do the right thing, but in India they had no representative institutions, and yet in another quarter of the world they were spending millions of money in order that Englishmen and others should have representation there, and really they had far less interest and far less reason to do that than they had in India. He urged that Englishmen did not take the interest in Indian affairs they ought to.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

Imperial Parliament.

Thursday, March 28.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

TROOPS BEYOND THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER.

Mr. Herbert Roberts asked the Secretary of State for India whether he would state what was the number of troops stationed at the close of 1898 in the political agencies of Dir, Swat, the Khyber, the Kurram, Tochi, and Wano, and what was their estimated cost:

And, whether he would say whether any reduction had been made in the number of these troops during the present Viceroy's period of office; if so, to what extent; and what was the estimated aggregate annual cost of these military and political outposts under the conditions of the new province.

Lord G. Hamilton: The number of troops stationed on December 1, 1898, in the districts referred to was:—Malakand Agency, including Dir and Swat, 3,447; the Khyber Brigade, 3,211; the Kurram, including Samana, 2,489; Tochi, 2,344; Wana, 1,094. The Khyber Brigade has been withdrawn, and the Khyber is now held by Afridi Militia. Half a squadron of Native cavalry and a half-battalion of Native infantry, numbering about 500, have been transferred from the Kurram Valley to Kohat. The cost of these several outposts cannot be given without reference to India: nor have I as yet received any estimate of the cost of the new arrangements which are now contemplated.

COOPERS HILL COLLEGE.

Mr. Walter Palmer asked the Secretary of State for India whether, in view of the enquiry into the proposed dismissals at Coopers Hill Engineering College which was being held, he would give an assurance that no professors or lecturers would be dismissed until papers relating to the present enquiry had been laid before the House and an opportunity afforded for discussion.

Lord G. Hamilton: I undertook that, before effect was given to the proposed educational reforms at Coopers Hill College, all the teaching staff affected should have a full opportunity of giving their reasons before the Board of Visitors against the proposed reorganisation, and that the Council of India would suspend their decision until they had received and considered this evidence and the report of the Visitors upon it. Further than this I cannot go. Papers on the subject will be circulated, I understand, on Monday.

Mr. W. Palmer asked whether the noble lord would assure the House that no dismissal would take place until the new representatives of the Universities had taken their places on the Board of Visitors.

Lord G. Hamilton: No, I cannot.

Friday, March 29.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

PAPERS PRESENTED.

COOPERS HILL COLLEGE.

East India (Royal Indian Engineering College,—Copy presented,—of Papers relating to Remodelling of Course of Instruction and Retirement of certain of the Professors and Lecturers; and Report of the Board of Visitors, dated 25th March, 1901, and Minutes of Evidence taken before them [by Command] to lie upon the table.

THE COAL INDUSTRY IN BENGAL.

Sir John Leng asked the Secretary of State for India whether complaints had reached him that the coal industry in Bengal was cramped by the inability of the East India Railway to supply sufficient waggons to carry the coal from the mines to consumers and for shipment:

And, whether, to secure a better service of waggons on that railway as well as a general extension of profitable lines, the Government of India could arrange to make the expenditure on them independent of the general administrative finances under borrowing powers such as were granted some years ago and then withdrawn.

Lord G. Hamilton: Some representations as to the insufficiency of the rolling stock of the East Indian Railway for the conveyance of coal reached me about a year ago. A short time previously large additions to the rolling stock had been sanctioned by the Government of India; further additions were sanctioned later in the year; and, so far as I am aware, all the requirements of the Company have now been met.

Though all capital outlay for railway purposes raised upon the security of the revenues of India must be under the control of Government, I agree with the honourable gentleman that the adequate equipment of lines in working order should be a primary consideration in Indian railway administration.

Monday, April 1.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

PAPERS PRESENTED.

East India (Loans raised in England),—Copy presented,—of Return of all Loans raised in England, chargeable on the Revenues of India, outstanding at the commencement of the half-year ending on the 31st March, 1901 [by Act]; to lie upon the table and to be printed. [No. 114.]

OFFICERS OF THE STAFF CORPS.

Colonel Milward asked the Secretary of State for India whether his attention had been drawn to the 600 Petitions presented to the House of Commons from officers of the Indian Staff Corps, praying for an accelerated promotion:

And, whether, considering that the present conditions were fixed 30 or 40 years ago, that promotion was now slower in the Indian Staff Corps than in the British Army, and that officers in the Staff Corps were in consequence superseded upon active service upon the frontier by their juniors in the British Army, he would accede to the prayer of the Petitioners.

Sir Seymour King asked the Secretary of State for India whether his attention had been called to the number of petitions from officers of the Indian Staff Corps which had been presented to this House, referring to the disadvantage to which such officers were subjected by being constantly supersed by their juniors in the British Army, and praying for an acceleration of promotion which might tend to reduce the grievance:

And seeing that Lord Roberts, when Commander-in-Chief in India, recognised that there was a grievance and suggested a remedy, whether an effort would now be made to readjust the rules for Staff Corps promotion.

Lord G. Hamilton: I stated last December in this House that the matter to which this question refers was under consideration in India, and that some months must elapse before any decision could be arrived at. To this I am afraid I can can add nothing at present.

Perhaps my honourable friend the Member for Hull will accept this as an answer to his question No. 19.

MR. A. S. RUSSELL'S MEMORIAL.

Sir Seymour King asked the Secretary of State for India whether he would now lay upon the table the Government of India's Despatch No. 10, P.W., dated 30th March, 1899, covering memorials from Mr. A. S. Russell and others.

Lord G. Hamilton: My honourable friend put a similar question to me with regard to this letter from India about ten months ago. I then stated that a correspondence on the subject to which it referred

was proceeding, and that I was unable to fix any date for the publication of papers. I am afraid I can as yet add nothing to my former reply.

THE SUGAR DUTY ACT.

Mr. LAWRENCE asked the Secretary of State for India whether he had any further information to give the House as to the results which had accrued from the operation of the countervailing duties imposed in India in March, 1899, on imports of bounty-fed sugar:

And, whether he had any statistics showing increase in cultivation or refining of sugar.

Lord G. HAMILTON: The countervailing duties have been so lately introduced, and recent seasons have been so abnormal, that it is impossible to give any trustworthy account of the effect of this measure upon sugar production in India. So far there has been no increase in cultivation or in the refining of sugar in India.

THE CENSUS RETURNS.
EFFECTS OF FAMINE AND PLAGUE.

Mr. SAMUEL SMITH asked the Secretary of State for India whether the Census Returns relating to the famine districts in India had yet been completed; and, if so, whether they showed a decrease as compared with the returns for the same districts made in the Census of ten years ago:

And, if he could inform the House of the amount of the decrease in British territory and the Native States respectively, and how far that decrease was to be attributed to the prevalence of famine and plague.

Lord G. HAMILTON: The preliminary information about the census which I have received by telegraph from India is not sufficient to enable me to give any answer as to the effects of plague and famine. In the British Provinces, taken as a whole, there is an increase of nearly ten millions; in the Native States there is a decrease of about three millions, since 1891.

Tuesday, April 2.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THE IRRIGATION PROGRAMME.

Mr. HERBERT ROBERTS asked the Secretary of State for India whether his attention had been directed to the reference made by Lord Curzon, in his speech at the Legislative Council on the 27th ult., to the necessity of initiating a positive advance in the irrigation system of the various provinces of India:

And, whether, in view of the importance of the question, he would lay upon the table of the House the Reports of the Engineers by which the action of the Government of India in this respect would be guided.

Lord G. HAMILTON: I have seen the report of Lord Curzon's speech which repeats the views I have several times expressed upon the same subject. I will see if a Blue-book upon irrigation cannot be compiled, as it is very desirable that there should be a clearer idea in certain quarters of what can and cannot be done by the extension of irrigation schemes in India.

THE INDIAN FINANCIAL YEAR.

Mr. NORMAN asked the Secretary of State for India whether consideration had been given to the suggestion by the Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure, expressed in paragraph 69 of its unanimous Report, in support of proposals previously made, that the Indian financial year might end on December 31, in order that the Indian accounts might be laid before Parliament at an earlier date than was now practicable, and that discussion of Indian finance earlier in each Session might be made possible; and what decision had been reached:

And at what date it was expected that the current financial statement and accounts placed before the Supreme Legislative Council at Calcutta on March 20 would be presented to Parliament.

Lord G. HAMILTON: A suggestion that the Indian financial year should be altered so as to end on December 31, was made some time ago; but a Select Committee of this House, in their Report of 1873, condemned it as undesirable.

I have communicated to the Government of India the similar suggestion of the Royal Commission, but I do not anticipate that it will be found practicable to adopt it.

Special instructions have been given for the early transmission of a sufficient number of copies of the Indian Financial Statement to meet the demand of Members; and I hope that they may arrive early in May.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

NOTICE OF MOTION.

The following notice of motion is upon the paper:—

The Lord STANLEY OF ALDERLEY.—To call attention to the inadequacy of the waterway provided during the construction of the Eastern Bengal and Central Bengal Railways, which traverse the line taken by the natural drainage of the lower provinces, causing the districts to the west of those railways to be waterlogged, while those on the eastern side suffer from the silting up of the numerous rivers which conducted the spill seawards, and producing deplorable mischief to the health of a population exceeding five millions of souls; and to move that, in the opinion of this House, an enquiry should be made as to these defects, and remedies suggested by an independent commission of engineers assisted by a civil officer well acquainted with the language and local conditions.—(*No day named.*)

LORD CURZON IN INDIA.

THE *Nineteenth Century* for April contains an article under this heading by Mr. Stephen Wheeler. The article is devoted chiefly to a laudatory summary of the recent Blue-book upon the New Frontier "Province." After a reference to Lord Curzon's "attitude towards the tribal and frontier chieftains," the article, which curiously resembles an obituary notice, and tends rather to suggest that Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty is nearing its close, concludes as follows:—

Little space is left to speak about the indications of the Viceroy's programme that may be gathered from his speeches or actions with regard to education, concerning which he is known to entertain strong views; the wider extension of irrigation as a protection—it cannot be a preventive—against famine; the finding of some suitable sphere of employment for the ever-growing class of persons of mixed English and Indian descent, about which he made a notable speech at Calcutta last spring; the promotion of indigenous industries, for whose benefit he passed the Countervailing Duties on Sugar Bill; the reduction of telegraphic charges between Great Britain and India, a reform which seems to be on the verge of achievement; the relief of the indebtedness of the agricultural classes, in whose interest has recently been passed a very momentous Act for arresting the alienation of land in the Punjab; or the endowment of India with a gold standard, an experiment which, though still in its infancy, has so far been attended with gratifying success.

Finally, there is a phase of policy and conduct in which the Viceroy, in the face of much criticism and at the risk of serious unpopularity, has gone fearlessly on his way. India is a country in which, even on the threshold of the twentieth century, the racial feeling is very strong. The older men say that it tends to grow not better, but worse. An evidence of the truth of this appreciation seems to be supplied by the increasing number of cases of violent collision between Europeans and Natives. Sometimes the *fracas* is between some soldiers out shooting and a band of Native villagers; sometimes between the soldier in his barracks and the coolie who pulls, or neglects to pull, his punkah; sometimes between British officials and their Native subordinates; sometimes between managers of tea-gardens and the labourers on their estates. There is a good deal to be said on both sides of the question. The Native Press complains of the arrogant temper of the European, and declares that there is one law for the white and another for the black—an assertion which the result of criminal trials where a European is the accused party does not tend to disprove. The European Press protests against the increasing insolence of the Native, and demands full protection for the rights and dignity of the ruling race. The situation thus created is not precisely a garden of roses in which a Viceroy would choose to saunter. He can win little credit; he may provoke much animosity; he cannot be quite sure of the result.

Nevertheless, Lord Curzon has not shrunk from letting it be known what his line is. He has made it clear that, so far as rests with him, he will insist upon even justice between the two races, and that stern punishment shall be meted out to the offender, whatever his colour or his creed. It is well known that but for his attitude in the Rangoon outrage case the whole of that disgraceful affair would have been hushed up. He was attacked in some quarters for the Order in Council that gave public expression to the feelings of the Government of which he was the head. But the majority of thinking persons welcomed the assertion by the supreme authority of its resolve to uphold the highest standard of moral duty. The Viceroy spoke in language of similar plainness in the Government resolution upon what was known as the Chupra scandal, where some European officers had attacked and grossly persecuted a Native. More recently a committee of combined soldiers and civilians was convened by him to revise the Shooting Pass Rules, the neglect or contempt of which had been responsible for much of the trouble between Englishmen and Natives. It is very easy to hint, as was done by one critic, that the Viceroy has an eye upon the conventicles at home. I doubt if Lord Curzon cares much about the applause of Exeter Hall; or, if he did, whether it would compensate any Governor-General for the serious attacks of his own countrymen in India. That Lord Curzon has hitherto escaped the latter risk is evidence of the public recognition of his motives. That he will permanently improve the relations between the two races is more than can be expected of any one man in five years. That he will leave them better than he found them is the common hope of both.

THE *INVESTORS' REVIEW* FAMINE FUND.

We take the following from the current issue (March 30) of the *Investors' Review*:—

Subscriptions to our little fund, from which not a penny is deducted for advertisement in newspapers or any other kind of charges, may be sent to A. J. Wilson, at this office; cheques to be crossed "Union Bank of London, Indian Famine Fund."

	£	s.	d.
Amount previously acknowledged ..	£946	14	2
Burnley, W. L. A., collected at Miss Alison Garland's Lecture, per INDIA	2	2	0
E. T. H.	2	0	0
	£950	16	2

PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO INDIA.

To be obtained from
THE BRITISH COMMITTEE OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS,
84-85, PALACE CHAMBERS, WESTMINSTER, S.W.

Reports of the Proceedings at the Annual Sessions of the Indian National Congress, from the 3rd to the 14th Session. 2s. each, post free.

The Skeleton at the (Jubilee) Feast (Congress Green Book I.), by Sir WILLIAM WEDDERBURN, Bart. (being a series of suggestions for the prevention of famine in India). Post free, 7d.

Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure: Evidence-in-Chief of the Indian Witnesses. (Congress Green Book II.) Post free, 1s. 10d.

The Proposed Separation of Judicial and Executive Functions in India. Memorial to the Secretary of State. With two Appendices. (Congress Green Book III.) Post free, 1s. 2d.

Two Statements presented to the Indian Currency Committee (1898), by Mr. DADABHAI NAOROJI.

Speech by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, M.P., in the House of Commons, August 14, 1894, on the Debate on the Indian Budget.
Ditto do. in the House of Commons, February 12, 1895, on the Debate on the Address.
Ditto do. on British Rule in India (1898).

Presidential Address by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, M.P., delivered to the Indian National Congress at Lahore, 1893.

Presidential Address by Mr. A. M. Bose, M.A., delivered to the Indian National Congress at Madras, 1898.

Speeches of Mr. Alfred Webb, M.P., President of the Indian National Congress, 1894-5.

Valedictory Address of Mr. Alfred Webb, M.P., delivered at Bombay, January 17, 1895.

Speeches of Mr. D. E. Wacha delivered at the 9th, 11th and 14th Sessions of the Indian National Congress.

Is the Government of India Responsible to Anyone, and if so to Whom? Speech delivered at Croydon by Mr. W. C. BONNERJEE.

The Famine in India. Speeches delivered at a Public Reception to Mr. Vaughan Nash on his return from the Famine Districts, July, 1900.

Mr. A. O. Hume's Farewell to India. Speech delivered at Bombay, 1894.

India Reform Pamphlet IX. The State and Government of India under its Native Rulers. 3d.

The Indian National Congress: its Aims and Justification. By ROBERT KNIGHT.

Indian Politics. A Series of Papers on Important Indian Questions by Prominent Congressmen. Post free, 4s. 4d.

A Needed Reform in the Indian Administration, by ROMESH C. DUTT, C.I.E.

The Bogey of a Russian Invasion. A Lesson from the Tirah Campaign, by Col. H. B. HANNA.

The High Courts and the Collector-Magistrates in India, by J. DACOSTA.

The Government of India and its Reform through Parliamentary Institutions, by J. DACOSTA.

Note on Sir J. Westland's Budget, 1894-5.

Note on the Explanatory Memorandum of the Secretary of State for India, 1894-5.

Note on Sir James Westland's Budget, 1895-6.

Note on Sir H. Waterfield's Tables, 1884-5 to 1894-5.

The Poor Man's Lamb: Famine Insurance for the Masses *versus* Exchange Compensation for the Classes.

REPRINTS FROM "INDIA."

The Judiciary and the Executive in India. Interview with Mr. Manomohan Ghose.
The Bombay Government and Higher Education, by the Hon. C. H. Setalved.
A National Famine Grant, Letter from the London Indian Society to Lord Salisbury, 1900.
India and the General Election (1900).
"Melancholy Meanness."
The "Over-population" Fallacy Again.
No National Contribution?
The "Slimness" of the India Office.
"Mainly a Question of Money."

A Selection of the Publications enumerated above will be forwarded to responsible persons or Associations in the United Kingdom for gratuitous distribution, on written application to the British Committee, Indian National Congress, 84-85, *Palace Chambers, Westminster,* S.W.

IMPORTANT NOTICE.

SUBSCRIPTIONS to "INDIA" 1901.

WHY NOT SUBSCRIBE NOW?

A limited number of new Subscribers can still be supplied with copies of INDIA from the beginning of the present year. SUBSCRIPTIONS (POST FREE) SIX RUPEES.

PREPAID Subscriptions for the REMAINDER OF THE YEAR should be remitted direct to the Office in London at the following rates, which include postage:—

April 1 to end of year..5 rupees.
May 1 to end of year..4 rupees 9 annas.

Do you want to know by every mail what has been done in Parliament concerning India?

Do you want to see special reports of public meetings in England concerning India?

Do you want to read what the British Press is writing about India?

———*The Journal "INDIA" will tell you.*

Remittances should accompany every order.
Address:—THE MANAGER OF "INDIA,"
84 & 85, PALACE CHAMBERS,
WESTMINSTER, LONDON, S.W.

THE GRANHAMS, SHELFORD, CAMBRIDGE.

W. A. DOUGLAS RUDGE, B.A., late Scholar and Prizeman of St. John's College, Cambridge, is prepared to take entire charge of a limited number of young Indian gentlemen and to educate them for the University or Public Schools. Special attention paid to Science subjects. Healthy country home four miles from Cambridge. References kindly permitted by Romesh C. Dutt, Esq., C.I.E., and Dadabhai Naoroji, Esq., in London.

DR. T. N. GHOSE'S

PECTORAL BALSAM.

A BOON TO SUFFERERS FROM ALL DISORDERS AND COMPLAINTS OF THE LUNGS AND CHEST.

For Cold in the Head, Coughs, Hoarseness, Asthma, Hooping Cough, Bronchitis, Sore Throat.

DR. W. VENOR says: "I have used it myself and prescribed it for many patients, and can very strongly recommend it for Bronchitis, Asthma, Indigestion. It will not cure Asthma or Indigestion, but a single dose I have found gives an immediate relief.—31st March, 1889.

P. C. GHOSE & CO., NEW MEDICAL HALL, MEERUT

The annual subscription to INDIA (post free) is nine shillings for England and six rupees for India. Subscriptions are payable in advance. Remittances, or communications relating to subscriptions or any other matter of business connected with INDIA, should in all cases be sent to the MANAGER *of INDIA, 84 and 85, Palace Chambers, Westminster, London, S.W. In any communication regarding copies of INDIA circulated in India, it is requested that Subscribers be referred to both by name and by the number printed in each case upon the addressed wrapper.*

Subscription in England :—
April 1 to End of Year (Post free), 7s. 3d.

Cheques and Post Office Orders payable to W. DOUGLAS HALL.

Copies of INDIA can be obtained from the Offices of the Paper; from MR. ELLIOT STOCK, *Paternoster Row, London, E.C.; and to order at any Railway Bookstall.*

Printed by A. BONNER, 1 & 2 Took's Court, London, E.C., and Published for the Proprietors at 84 and 85, Palace Chambers, Westminster, S.W.